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RELIEF AND RESETTLEMENT IN THE NEAR EAST WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE RESETTLEMENT OF
GREEK REFUGEES IN MACEDONIA

Divisional Report No. 18

May 27, 1949

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR	
REVIEWED BY <u>Burt Dyer</u>	DATE <u>Jan 4 1954</u>
RDS ☐ or X ☐	EXT. DATE _____
TS AUTH. _____	REASON(S) _____
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Division of Research for Near East and Africa

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INTRODUCTION

Reports covering relief and resettlement operations in the Near East during and after World War I, in which the American Near East Relief participated so actively and so effectively, furnish many concrete examples of the nature and extent of the problems to be met in such work and of the cost, difficulties and success of relief and/or resettlement measures. With respect to resettlement as a part of refugee relief, the story of the resettlement of Greek and other refugees in Macedonia and other parts of Greece contains much instructive information.

The present paper contains selected excerpts from four reports on the subject. There has been little editing, but the information selected has been presented in such order as appears most logical to serve as an introduction to those desiring to familiarize themselves with the more fundamental aspects of the relief and resettlement of peoples.

The reports from which excerpts have been taken are as follows in the order of appearance:

James L. Barton. Story of Near East Relief (1915-1930) An Interpretation.
New York - The Macmillan Company - 1930.
(479 pp.)

Charles P. Howland. Greece and Her Refugees
Foreign Affairs - 25 West 43rd Street,
New York. July 1926. Vol. 4 (p. 613-623)

American Consulate, Salonika (Greece)
Report No. 161. December 23, 1929.
Political and Economic Effect of Refugees
in Greek Macedonia. James S. Moose, Jr.
(77 pp.)

League of Nations. Greek Refugee Settlement
(Translation) Geneva, 1926.
(216 pp., maps)

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STORY OF NEAR EAST RELIEF

The story of Near East Relief is an interpretation of fifteen years of unbroken service to the peoples of the Near East. Beginning during the turmoil of the World War, it continued into the reconstruction period. Commencing with an effort to raise \$100,000, it has collected and administered \$116,000,000. Organized in response to the needs of hungry, diseased and naked refugees, it has built its enduring memorial in the lives of countless orphan children.... (p. xi)

The volunteer relief committee was, from the beginning, a National organization of the United States, manned by our people and incorporated by a special act of Congress in 1919 as the Near East Relief.... (p. viii)

While the original appeal for relief came from the Christian races, i.e., the Armenians, Syrians, Assyrians, Nestorians and Greeks, help was given to all suffering peoples on the basis of need and not creed, and included the Kurds, the Turks, the Tartars, the Arabs and the Persians. During the war the Christian races were subjected to governmental oppression and repeated misfortunes and were in great distress and subsequently in greatest need and therefore recipients of much of the distributed relief.

The field of the relief operations included, after its operations were extended to the Adriatic: Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey; Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan in the Caucasus; Russia, Persia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Egypt.... (p. 54)

Changed Conditions in the Near East and
the 1919 Relief Commission

The defeat of Turkey by the Allied forces under the command of General Allenby followed by the Armistice at Mudron, October 30, 1918, created a decided change in the situation throughout the Near East.... (p. 107)

From 1919 to Smyrna Evacuation

Four long years of uncertainty followed the Turkish Armistice, for peace did not come to the Near East until 1923. Even while the Western diplomats were conferring in Paris, relative to the German peace terms, they took incidental action on a pressing question in the Near East--the occupation of Smyrna. Their decision precipitated a new conflict and war between the growing nationalism of a new Turkey and a deserted ally, Greece, the ambitious defender of Christian compatriots in Antolia.

The events which crowded into these intervening

years culminated in the disaster at Smyrna and the flight of 1,400,000 refugees from Asia across the Aegean into Europe.... (pp. 138 - 139)

Greece

Greece was added to the relief map by a rapid succession of disastrous events which followed the collapse of the Greek army in western Asia, culminating in the sudden influx of masses of refugees and orphans. Greece had been deserted and defeated. Politically the country was torn asunder. The drachma had fallen in value. The returning soldiers were without employment. The morale of the people had been broken by disaster abroad and impending ruin at home resulting from the invasion of an army of 1,400,000 helpless refugees. The relief workers, bent on their errand of mercy, followed the refugees with emergency rations of food.

The later transfer of the orphans from the interior of Turkey to Greece fixed the location and determined the program of a major portion of the Committee's activities during the following seven years. Administrative headquarters were moved from Constantinople to Athens, and Greece became a new center of interest and work. A constructive and co-operative social and child welfare program has been developed from these emergency beginnings. Greek philanthropy closely resembled the attitude of American giving and provided the country before the war with numerous memorials of generosity and service.

Col. Plastiras, by a virtual dictatorship, maintained order and the authority of a government capable of strong and effective action. Dr. Doxiades as director of the Department of Refugees, organized the construction forces within and without the country to solve the tremendous problems caused by this flood-tide of dependent and penniless people across the Aegean Sea. American and other foreign relief agencies responded to the appeal for aid, but the brunt of the catastrophe and the merit for its solution rested mainly with the Greek government and the Greek people.

The advent of 17,000 orphans into a refugee-crowded country taxed housing resources to the maximum. All the summer hotels at the two medicinal watering spas, Lutraki and Edipsos, were requisitioned and turned into orphanage dormitories. The former palace of the Kaiser, situated in the center of a magnificent park and overlooking the beautiful island of Corfu, was filled with children. The Old Palace, in the center of Athens, the scene of much of Greek history, was transmuted into an office for the relief unit and a receiving station for children.

The Zappeon, a national exhibition building, situated between the Acropolis and the Stadium and close

by the ruins of the ancient Temple of Jupiter, was transformed into an orphanage. The site of the Temple became the playground for the orphans. Barracks were emptied of soldiers and filled with children in Corinth, not far from the ruins of the city of St. Paul, and in Chalkis. A warehouse on Corfu, reconstructed buildings at Cephalonia, deserted mining quarters at Thassos and a farm school at Oropos, all were converted into orphanage homes and schools and made beehives of young life and activity. All of this was done by the government of Greece, without charge, and the buildings turned over to the organization for its use at a time when the country was so desperately trying to find shelter for the refugees that it was forced to house three hundred and fifty families for two years in the boxes and seats of the National Opera House, with only burlap bags for partitions to divide one family from another.

As summer approached, the privately owned hotels had to be evacuated. Shelter for thousands of children had to be provided. The government had exhausted every inch of available space. The organization had given assurance, when permission was granted to admit the children, that they would not become an additional public burden. The only solution for this supplementary housing emergency was for the Committee to secure a suitable site and construct buildings with accommodations for 3,000 children. The island of Syra, overnight by boat from Piraeus, finally was chosen from the many places investigated. A large tract of land, a section of which was good for farm purposes, was provided by the government. Buildings were erected, with the help of the refugees and the work of the boys of the orphanage. Syra is an important island, the capital of the Cyclades and the seat of a bishop of the Greek church. This orphanage at various times has housed and trained some 7,000 boys and girls. It has been one of the most outstanding orphanage schools of the organization. It was a laboratory where child culture and training could be tested and its problems worked out. It was a vocational school where many skills were taught to equip the boys and girls for economic self-support. It was a place where character was built and children prepared for future citizenship.

Syra was the last orphanage center. All the other institutions were closed as rapidly as children could be outplaced. In Greece it was always called the American school and was seldom referred to as an orphanage.

The process of transferring thousands of orphans from the remote interior stations of Turkey and Constantinople to thirteen separate places in Greece necessitated the complete reorganization of the work and workers, the reequipment of the children and the institutions at a great additional expense to the relief funds. Few things could be transported with

the children. It was beginning again with new supplies and many new untrained personnel in a new and friendly environment.

The government granted every facility and aid to the activities of the Committee, including exemption from customs duties, free transportation for supplies and personnel, and for over a year furnished a steamer for the transfer of orphans and supplies, permitted the use of the post and telegraph without charge, and gave the organization and its officers diplomatic consideration.

The development of the orphanage educational and outplacing programs and the adaptation of American child welfare methods and practices to conditions in Greece are covered in the particular chapters devoted to these phases of the work. Permanent contributions to the social and child welfare activities of Greece have been made along various lines including a model tuberculosis pavilion at Soteria in Athens, a school for the blind in which a universal phonetic Braille alphabet was formulated, a school for the deaf and hard of hearing under the supervision of a graduate of the Clark School at Northampton, encouragement and demonstration of nurses' training, an anti-malaria campaign successfully conducted in Corinth, the preparation and distribution of a health manual and the organization of working boys' and girls' homes.

Although the organization withdrew from the responsibility of a general adult feeding program in Greece, though not in Constantinople and the Pontus, after the arrival of the Red Cross unit, nevertheless enormous quantities of old clothes were shipped to Greece and distributed to the refugees in Macedonia. It was estimated that enough American old clothing was collected by the Committee to change the styles of all the people. The fascinating story of this program is retold in another chapter on relief through "giving work." Greeks in America were eager to send individual remittances to their suffering relatives and friends overseas, but there was no way of locating them or transmitting funds. The organization maintained for several months American specialized personnel at Crete, Mitylene, Salonika, Kavalla, Patras, Athens and centers where refugees had been segregated for the purpose of aiding these people in locating other members of their families and in securing wherever possible individual financial assistance to supplement their meager dole of refugee rations.

Admiral Bristol, American high commissioner, wrote to the State Department as late as July, 1923, "If relief activities were withdrawn from the Pontus and Constantinople, the refugees would undoubtedly perish of hunger and disease." An average of over 40,000 Greek refugees were being fed during these months, exclusive of the refugees from Smyrna.

The representatives of the Committee participated in many activities and assisted Greece directly and indirectly in the solution of many of the problems arising out of the abnormal refugee conditions.

The first transfer of Moslem and Greek populations under the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne was made under the authority and supervision of the Near East Relief. The flight of more than a million refugees from Smyrna and Asia Minor into an overcrowded Greece in 1922 had been precipitous. They left without supplies and without money. When the terms of the treaty were being discussed, there were less than two hundred thousand Greeks left in Turkey, aside from the population of Constantinople. On the other hand, there were three hundred and sixty thousand Moslem Turks in Greek Macedonia, most of them farmers well adapted to replace some of the Christian tillers of the soil in Anatolia. The treaty provided for the compulsory exchange of population, including all Orthodox Greeks in Turkey, except those residing in Constantinople before 1918, and all Moslem Turks in Greece, except those in western Thrace. This transfer was to be supervised by a commission composed of Greek and Turkish representatives and neutral members from nations not in the World War.

When the Lausanne conference opened, five-sixths of all the former Greeks in Turkey were already in Greece, crowded into army barracks, tents, abandoned warehouses and theaters. Three months after the treaty was signed, the commission had not been organized. Moslems in Greece, fatalistically facing the will of the treaty makers, awaited the inevitable notice to leave their homes and lands and the orders for transportation to unknown parts of Turkey. They had planted no crops, winter was approaching, and they were restless. Greek refugees from the Black Sea region had reached Constantinople and were languishing in refugee camps. Consequently, both the Greek and the Turkish governments officially asked the Near East Relief to start the exchange without waiting for the organization of the commission in order to relieve the tension and suffering among the people who must move under the terms of the treaty. In response to this urgent request, the first exchange of populations actually was made in October, 1923, under the supervision of the managing director of the Greek Area, with least possible friction and the minimum hardship to the unfortunate people concerned.

Even after the Commission for the Exchange organized and began to function, the managing director continued as an official agent and somewhat later, when a series of complaints, real and exaggerated, from Moslems in Macedonia were printed in the Turkish press in Angora, the recall of the Turkish members of the Commission was intimated. Before taking this action,

Tewfik Rushdi Bey, then chairman of the Turkish delegation, requested the managing director of Near East Relief to investigate the charges with a representative of the Turkish Red Crescent. The subsequent report recommended the immediate transfer of Moslems from Macedonia who had been waiting for months the inevitable readjustments, and the tension was relieved.

The Turks in Greece were just as loath to leave their homes as the Greeks in Turkey had been. The exchange was a method of completing in an orderly way what had been two-thirds done in the disorder, confusion and suffering of a hasty exodus. It removed from Turkey the vexing minority question. It provided Greece with more land for the refugees and a homogeneous population for Macedonia and the Islands.

This ethnical change in the peoples of Macedonia, the incoming of Greeks from Asia and the return of the Turks to Asia, was of importance in the ultimate placement of many graduate orphans on the farms and in the villages among the new settlers, where they proved to be an important element in introducing new ideas in agriculture, health and methods of living.

The settlement of the refugees required governmental loans of international proportions. After some hesitancy, the League of Nations, through the personal efforts of Dr. Nansen, finally gave its approval to a Greek Refugee Loan of £10,000,000 to be floated on the credit and guarantees of the Greek government, but administered by a special Refugee Settlement Commission with an American chairman. The international reputation and friendly interest toward Greece of Henry Morgenthau, a member of the Executive Committee, dictated his appointment as chairman of the newly authorized refugee commission. The actual results which were accomplished by means of this distinctive and constructive post-war loan in the solution of the refugee problem by the building of houses and the distribution of equipment, was unparalleled in international finance. A liability of dejected, homeless exiles was turned into an asset of industrious, settled citizens.

The treaty of peace stipulated that all Greek civil prisoners detained as *hommes valides* after the events at Smyrna, should be released and sent to Greece. The Angora government refused the request of the Greek government for a commission to proceed to Turkey to arrange for the release of the prisoners. Months passed and still the ill-fated men were detained. In December, 1923, the Turkish officials reached a compromise with the Greek officials and the managing director of the Near East Relief was invited by both governments to act as chairman of a special commission composed of representatives of the Greek Red Cross and the Turkish Red Crescent to supervise the release and the

transportation of these civil prisoners. Over 11,000 men, all that remained, were transferred to Greece and reunited with their families.

Other co-operating agencies rendered valuable service to the refugee cause during this period of great need. The Save the Children Fund furnished supplementary hot rations to children in Athens and in Macedonia. At the height of their activities nearly 50,000 children were being fed daily. The Commissioner for Refugees of the League maintained a director in Salonika for the administration of such funds as were placed at the League's disposal. The American Women's Hospitals established a quarantine station and maintained several hospital and clinic units under American personnel supervision in the refugee camps of Athens and in towns of Macedonia. The Friends of Greece organized handiwork industries to give employment to widows and then sold the product in America. The Fatherless Children of Greece Committee supported half-orphans in homes by supplying a monthly subsidy. The last two organizations united with the Near East Relief.

The local private welfare agencies redoubled their efforts and threw their full strength and all their resources into the crisis and they in turn were fully supported by the government with such funds and supplies as were available. Greeks by birth in many countries, notably America, not only sent liberal individual remittances to destitute relatives and friends, variously estimated to total several millions of dollars during the last ten years, but as Greek communities and societies in American cities, they raised, by popular subscription, hundreds of thousands of dollars for the relief of their compatriots, transmitting the funds either through the Near East Relief or directly to various relief committees in Greece.

Greece accepted, without discrimination, Armenian as well as Greek refugees from Turkey. Before the shiftings of peoples had settled more than 90,000 had entered overcrowded Greece. This was not from any accidental generosity on the part of the Hellenes or because they were too weak to close the borders against the floodtide of mixed refugees, for a year later, when the managing director of the Committee was asked to supervise the return of civil prisoners from Turkey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Athens gave definite instructions to bring any Armenians who wished to come and to treat them with the same consideration as the Greeks. This attitude of Greece in opening her doors when all other nations, except Bulgaria, were closing them against the Armenian refugees and orphans, exiled from their homes in Turkey, has never been fully appreciated nor accredited. When every mouth to feed was an additional economic burden and when every pair of hands stretched out for help added competition to the elemental

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struggle for life, 90,000 alien Armenian refugees added to an overwhelming number of Anatolian Greeks, was a severe test of inter-racial good will and was met by a response seldom if ever excelled.

The Committee has helped the Armenians to solve their problems. Many have sought permanent homes where the economic future seemed brighter than in Greece. The Armenians in Egypt and France were enlisted to care for groups of Armenian orphans who were sent to both those countries for outplacement in Armenian homes and establishments of business. In Greece the representatives of the Committee have frequently used their good offices further to interpret the interests of the two peoples to each other.

Greece not only survived the tragedy of Smyrna and the staggering influx of refugees, but less than ten years after the disastrous events the country is undoubtedly stronger than it was before the World War. During the process of recovery the individual has suffered unbelievably and many did not survive, but the country as a whole is more productive and more united politically. The Anatolian Greeks brought energy and experience. The departure of the Moslem Turks made a homogeneous population.

During the years the Committee has carried on relief and welfare work in Greece many changes have taken place in the government but the same spirit of co-operation and appreciation has been shown by all officials. The royal kingdom passed into a republic in 1924, under President Koundouriotis. In 1928 Venizelos returned to the leadership of a new Greece, born out of much suffering.

The tribute which the Greek government paid to Christopher Thurber, by according him a governmental burial from the Cathedral with the rites of a retired general, is the way a nation expressed its gratitude and appreciation to America and its representative in humanitarian service for the years of sympathetic helpfulness to its refugees and its children. Gratitude will continue to find expression. Henry Morgenthau, in his latest book, "I Was Sent to Athens," points this out. "When we arrived at the Zappeion it was late in the evening and we found only a few dim lights still lit. We were escorted into the great unfurnished barracks and there beheld one of the most touching scenes--eight hundred small boys all sound asleep on blankets laid on the bare floor. Despite the lack of comfort, their faces indicated that their sleep was troubled by none but pleasant dreams. My Greek friends were greatly affected at this evidence of the sympathy and efficiency of distant America for the childhood of their nation."

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"On another occasion I took Mr. Venizelos and Dr. Doxiades, the Minister of Public Assistance, to an entertainment given by the children of this same orphanage. Some of the children gave recitations for our benefit and other forms of entertainment. But the outstanding feature of the occasion was a concert by a band made up of small boys, every one of whom was blind. All these children were being taught means of self-help and eventual independence.

"These orphanages evoked a spirit of gratitude toward Americans among the Greeks that will not be diminished in the lifetime of any of those children, and probably will not disappear for generations."....
(pp. 161-172)

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Greece and Her Refugees

The exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey of 1922-24 was unique in world history in its combination of four elements: first, this "swarming" of two human hives was compulsory and resulted from military events; second, no economic motives were directly involved, no impulse but that of nationalism; third, populations were uprooted which had been indigenous, in the one case for four centuries and in the other for thirty, and, finally, the scale was unprecedented. At the time of the Greek disaster in Asia Minor 800,000 Greeks fled across the Aegean Sea to the mainland and islands of Greece, most of them destitute, and 200,000 more with their household goods and flocks trekked out of eastern into western Thrace and Macedonia. With the latter arrivals expelled from Constantinople and the "voluntary" migrants from Bulgaria, Greece has had to receive and to absorb into her national life some 1,400,000 persons, or about 26 percent of her former population of approximately 5,375,000 people.... (p. 613)

In their background and characteristics, the "refugees" driven into Greece proper from the Aegean littoral, the Pontus, and Eastern Thrace were folk whom Greece had always regarded as her own children; there were no profound difficulties of sentiment in the way of their assimilation. But after years of intermittent war and continuous mobilization crowned by a major military disaster, the physical side of the problem--the sheltering, clothing, and feeding of an influx of people equivalent to 26 percent of her own population, of whom about two-thirds were totally destitute--and the gradual absorption of all these wayfarers into the life of the country were tasks of heroic proportions.

The Greeks exhibited a frenetic energy, the sort that they showed when the tiny city-states resisted the weight of the Persian Empire at Marathon and Salamis; they galvanized their philanthropic organizations, created emergency committees, gave freely, received the destitute into their homes, provided barracks and soup-kitchens and all the other forms of emergency relief. American and British philanthropic societies, notably the American Red Cross, Near East Relief, and American Women's Hospitals, and the British "Save the Children Fund" gave invaluable help. But the most unsparing efforts and self-sacrifice were not enough, and the Greeks turned to the League of Nations for moral support and financial help. That body at once set its appropriate organs in motion. The first thing in any such undertaking is of course to get at the facts, to find out the extent of the need, the resources available and the agencies with which the work can be done; in this case it was necessary to know the number of the refugees,

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how many were destitute and the extent of the ability of the remainder to look out for themselves, the methods by which they could be "established" or settled in Greek towns and countryside, what they would need in order to become self-supporting, and how the distribution and settlement of them in Greece could be accomplished with the least possible damage to the economic welfare of the country and with the maximum benefit possible to refugees and natives alike. Such information can of course be obtained only on the spot; the League accordingly sent a specialist in such matters, Colonel Proctor, of New Zealand, to dig out the facts and make a report.

From his account it appeared that there were about 1,200,000 destitute refugees, of whom about half were a farming population, that Greece normally imported about a third of its food-stuffs, that the Greek countryside was underpopulated and that perhaps a million and a quarter acres were available for village-building and cultivation; and an estimate of the amount of money necessary for the vast enterprise ran to approximately £10,000,000.

The next element in the problem was that of raising the money. Greece had no funds and needed to be helped with outside capital if some sound financial plan could be devised; the sum involved was too colossal for provision by the customary philanthropic means. Fortunately Greek foreign credit was good, thanks to its management since 1897 by an International Financial Commission.

At this stage the Financial Committee of the League, composed of leading bankers from the League member-countries, began an investigation into the security that Greece could offer for a loan the machinery for its service and the appropriate organization to spend the money. The last stage was the drawing up of a program of organization, of financing, and of work, and this came direct from the hands of Sir Arthur Salter, of the Economic Section of the Secretariat, author of the plans under which Austria and Hungary have been set on their feet, and the guiding spirit in this whole enterprise.

The Protocol creates an autonomous Commission not dependent upon Greek executive or administrative authority. It consists of four members, two appointed by the Greek Government with the approval of the Council of the League, a third member appointed by the Council, and a Chairman, appointed as the Council may provide, who must be an American citizen. The Commission is responsible to the League for the proper discharge of its functions and reports to the League four times a year.

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To this work many of the leading political personages and bankers of the world gave their time and energies with no thought except the benefit of the victims and the avoidance of the social and political dangers which suffering on such a scale creates. At this stage the Greek Government with the help of the League was enabled to make through London and New York bankers a bond issue which produced £10,000,000, and these funds were placed at the disposal of the Commission. Philanthropy in the special sense is forbidden to the Commission; its work is an undertaking of social organization and establishment on a colossal scale.

There are about 600,000 city dwellers among the refugees, families unused to the rigors of country life. For them the Commission has built settlements or quarters in the Piraeus, in Athens and in the smaller cities of Greece. Their inhabitants, although thrown almost naked on the shores of Greece, have displayed such an industrious and active spirit that they are nearly all able today to earn their own livelihood without any help from the Greek Government or any other source, while many of them are attaining a considerable degree of comfort.

It is the peasant-cultivators who have most interested the Commission as a productive force for the future of Greece, to counteract the constant tendency of the Greek population to migrate to the cities or abroad, and to bring up Greek agricultural production as a major economic resource. These peasant-cultivators the Commission has been establishing by building villages for them in "old Greece," in the new provinces and in the islands. You must build a village to hold your Greek; if you put him in an isolated farmhouse he would gravitate at once to the nearest community as certainly as water will seep into a well.

"Establishment" of a family in a village consists in supplying it with a cottage of mud bricks or masonry comprising two rooms, a small storehouse and a stable under one roof, and with the land necessary for the support of the family according to the crop appropriate to the region; and then furnishing to each family a work animal--ox, mule, buffalo--a pony or donkey for transport, the tools and seed necessary for the cultivation selected in each case, and subsistence for man and beast until the first crops can be harvested and sold, and to groups of families, plows, harrows, carts, etc., sufficient for their common use. The Commission have supplied the seed for raising the standard cereals, vegetables, leguminous field plants, vetch, tobacco, cotton, rice sesame, melons, potatoes, millet, etc., vine roots from California doctored against phylloxera, Pasteurized cocoons and many thousands of mulberry trees for silkworm culture. They furnish the communities with sires of selected stock for animal-breeding; they dig wells; they erect schools; they have created

a sanitary service for Macedonia consisting of local doctors and travelling dispensaries and pharmacists, which supplies services and drugs at moderate prices, and distributes quinine gratis to the indigent.

More than four-fifths of the lands allotted to refugees are in Macedonia, for hundreds of years the scenes of massacre and carnage and the breeding ground of wars, and the Greek population in Macedonia has been raised from 513,000 to 1,277,000; more than 1,500 villages have been built, each containing from 100 to 500 families. It is not risky to prophesy that in the course of time the effect of Hellenizing Macedonia will be to destroy brigandage and pillage which have thriven on disturbed political and economic conditions, to eliminate civil or guerrilla war among villages and comitadji, and to reduce appreciably the chances of war between Greece and her neighbors who so often have had or created an excuse for intervening on behalf of non-Greeks in the table-lands and valley-pockets of Macedonia and Western Thrace.

In the two years since their arrival in Greece the refugees have been living in schoolhouses, theatres, town halls, exposition buildings in the cities, even in the old royal palace at Athens; in the suburbs and in the country districts they have maintained a fox-like existence in tents, wooden barracks, shelters of twigs or of turf, even in caves. As work can be provided they set themselves at it courageously; as soon as mud-brick cottages are ready they move in and begin to cultivate the fields allotted to them; if fishing is to be done, large or small commercial transactions to be undertaken, relations to be established with London or New York in the exportation of figs, Zanti currants, or rugs and carpets, none are so prompt or so adroit as the refugees to seize the opportunity. Their morale and their scale of living rise visibly month by month, and their asset value to Greece increases in proportion to the decrease of their miseries.... (pp. 619-623)

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POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS
OF REFUGEES IN GREEK MACEDONIA

SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES

Foreign Relief Organizations.

The conventions agreeing upon the "exchange of populations" provided the bulk of the refugees into Greece, and created such a formidable problem in their transfer that the League of Nations felt it necessary to intervene. Temporary relief measures were undertaken by the American Red Cross and more permanent work was done by the Near East Relief. The "Save the Children" Fund and the All-British Appeal, British societies, also lent aid.

State Program.

Migration on one hand and repatriation of emigrants on the other during the period 1912-1922 had caused the Greek Government to set up a permanent organization, the Ministry of Welfare, whose Agronomic Service was converted into a colonization service and entrusted with the settlement of refugee farmers. It was this service which established the first refugees in 1922 on behalf and at the cost of the State and which was later attached to the League of Nations Refugee Settlement Commission.

Number of Refugees.

There are no reliable statistics showing the number of refugees. Many of them did not form a part of the convoys organized by the Government, but arrived by means of their own and so escaped a census. Others landed hurriedly at one port or another in large or small groups which made it impossible to count them.

Since then, successive removals of groups and individuals have contributed to defy all attempts at a census, and, as the fusion between the native and refugee populations continues, it becomes less likely that such a census can ever be taken. The estimate of the Refugee Settlement Commission places the number of refugees at about 1,400,000, including those from Bulgaria, Thrace and Russia.

Origin of Refugees.

The largest group of refugees was made up of Greeks from Asia Minor. The division of these refugees by origin was estimated as follows:

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Greeks from Asia Minor including the	
Pontos, more than	1,000,000
Greeks from Eastern Thrace.....	190,000
Greeks from the Caucasus.....	70,000
Greeks from Bulgaria	30,000
Greeks from Constantinople.....	70,000
Armenians, Russians and other	
refugees	40,000
Total	<u>1,400,000</u>

Refugees not in Need of Assistance.

Of these refugees a certain number (about 50,000) left the country again, and another group of perhaps 200,000 had resources of their own and were absorbed in the populations of Athens or provincial towns without being in need of assistance. The bulk of the refugees, however, amounting to about 1,200,000 persons, were practically destitute and were unable to provide for themselves without outside aid.

Classes of Refugees.

In their country of origin, these populations were made up of several social classes, varying from merchants, doctors, lawyers, bankers, etc. in the larger cities to farmers and shepherds in the rural districts.

Settlement in Macedonia.

Of these refugees, approximately 675,000 are estimated by local Greek officials to have settled in Greek Macedonia. The reasons for directing the refugees to Macedonia were manifold. This region had recently lost or was in the process of losing all of its Turkish and most of its Bulgarian elements; and could replace them with the newcomers. Also the colonization of the recent territorial accession with Greeks strengthened the hold of Greece on that area and tended to make it more easily defensible in case of necessity. Further, Macedonia was far behind the rest of Greece in its economic development, and a successful program of exploiting its natural resources would enable it to support the new additions to its population without difficulty.... (pp. 16-19)

Land for Settlement.

The first and most pressing problem in the permanent settlement of the refugees in Macedonia was the need of land. In accord with the convention setting up the Refugee Settlement Commission, the Greek Government handed over to that organization, 1,407,305 acres of land in Macedonia, of which 919,241 acres were tillable. Subsequent transfers to the Commission brought the cultivable land up to 1,036,582 acres and the land not suitable for cultivation up to 619,908 acres.

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Most of this land was formerly the property of Turks or Bulgarians who had been exchanged under the Convention of Neuilly or the Treaty of Lausanne.

Aims of Refugee Settlement Commission.

The principal effort of the Refugee Settlement Commission has been directed toward the establishment of rural refugees on the soil. While some assistance was given to urban refugees, the majority of them have not been provided for either by the Commission or by the Greek Government. Consequently there are still refugees in the cities of Macedonia who are living under deplorable conditions. This situation has been aggravated by the tendency of the rural population to migrate to the cities. The refugees also showed reluctance to settle in the parts of Macedonia near the Bulgarian frontier.

Establishment of Rural Refugees.

The settlement of rural refugees on the land was described by Charles P. Howland, the Chairman of the Refugee Settlement Commission, in an article "Greece and Her Refugees" published in the July 1926 number of FOREIGN AFFAIRS. (See pages 11-14 of this paper containing excerpts from the Howland article)

Number of Persons Established.

From the time it was organized in 1923 until December 31, 1928, the Refugee Settlement Commission had established 113,216 families comprising 446,560 persons in 1,951 settlements in Macedonia. Section K. of this report gives a detailed account of the number of houses built and repaired, credits and implements, etc., supplied to these refugees. It will be noted that these figures differ materially from those given in "Greek Refugee Settlement", the report of the Refugee Settlement Commission to the League of Nations in 1926. The foregoing numbers were supplied by the Colonization Department of Macedonia and are thought to be trustworthy. Prior to the establishment of refugee families by the Refugee Settlement Commission, the Greek Government settled at its own expenses, 66,920 families comprising about 250,000 persons.

Adjustment of Refugees to New Conditions.

Due to the theocratic organization of the Ottoman State which is mentioned in Section B. of this report, Greeks from Turkey were accustomed to a mode of life in which the community provided for the needs of its members in practically all local matters without assistance from the central government. This training was a valuable asset when these Hellenic communities were uprooted and driven into Greece. In a few instances,

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the populations of villages managed to make their way into Macedonia almost intact, and after receiving shelter, stock, implements and supplies, were able to adjust themselves to their new environment with surprising rapidity.

In the majority of cases, however, communities and even families had become separated during their journey from their former homes, and it was necessary for the Commission to make up new communities out of groups from several different places. In locating such groups an attempt was made to put refugees in villages where they could cultivate the crops to which they were accustomed or could utilize any other special training which they possessed. Tobacco growers were installed so far as possible in districts suitable for the cultivation of tobacco, fishermen were placed in sea-side villages, etc.

In nearly every new settlement, the refugees were anxious first to build a church and next to build a school. The church and school seemed to be the institutions which to them most effectively represented Hellenism, and were tangible evidences of an intangible bond between the individual members of the new communities and between that community and other villages in Greece.

Educational Work of Refugee Settlement Commission.

After being installed in their new homes and provided with the bare essentials for making their livelihood, the Commission established model farms at several places in Macedonia to demonstrate improved methods of agriculture and to introduce new crops. It also rendered valuable service in reducing crop losses from damage by insect pests.

Since the greatest energies of the Refugee Settlement Commission were spent on agricultural installation, much demonstration and educational work of that organization will appear in Section D. of this report.

Tendency to Return to Farms.

After several years of adversity in adjusting themselves to their new homes, the conditions of the refugee farmers and particularly of the tobacco-growers, is much superior to that of the town-dwelling refugees who have been left largely to their own devices in obtaining employment. A number of them, who in their country of origin, were engaged in farming, preferred upon their arrival in Macedonia to settle in the cities and towns. Many became tobacco and cigarette workers, but as the tobacco manipulating and manufacturing industry could not absorb the number of laborers available there was considerable unemployment which resulted

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in hardship and discontent. Others obtained work in the reclamation, irrigation and port works along the highways in the Saloniki district, but the relatively more favorable condition of the refugee farmer has created a desire to return to agricultural pursuits.

Settlement of Frontier Regions.

The Refugee Settlement Commission has received many applications for allotments of land from these refugees, but the requests could not be granted because of the dearth of tillable land. It will be possible to comply with the growing demand for land only when certain river and lake beds and swamps have been reclaimed to provide an additional 825,000 acres of cultivable land.

The Greek Parliament passed a bill during the latter part of 1928 providing for the organization of a special service to assist and supervise the colonization of the frontier regions in Greek Macedonia and Thrace.

The settlement of these regions had presented a great number of difficulties due to commitments threats, lack of communications and the mountainous nature of the land. The refugees from Asia Minor who have been brought into Macedonia and Thrace preferred to settle in the regions nearer to the larger commercial centers. Realizing that the permanent settlement of the refugees in the frontier territories is a national necessity, the bill took cognizance of the fact that material advantages were necessary to induce the refugees to settle along the frontier.

A service was organized and furnished with a first installment of a 120,000,000 drachma fund which is to be advanced to the refugees in the nature of loans bearing interest at the rate of 6 per cent. Certain settlers are exempt from the payment of the customary taxes on agricultural products and on goats, sheep and hogs. Six committees are charged with the supervision of the colonization in the regions of Florina, Andea, Alexandropolis, Siderocastro, Osenitsa and Komotini. Each of the committees studies the needs of the settlers under its jurisdiction, makes decisions for the establishment or the removal of settlements, and in general settles real estate disputes and supervises the erection and operation of schools and the military instruction of the inhabitants of each settlement. The committees are empowered to provide for the purchase of seed and implements of all kinds which are distributed in the form of loans or against cash payment by the settlers.

The collective sale of agricultural products is also contemplated. Those refugees who settled in the frontier regions before August 13, 1921, were exempted from the payment of agricultural and stock taxes beginning March 1929.... (pp. 20-25)

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RECLAMATION PROJECTSDearth of Agricultural Land.

The delivery by the Greek Government to the Refugee Settlement Commission of 1,036,582 acres of tillable land in Macedonia was too small to adequately fill the needs of all the rural refugee families, but was large enough to create a scarcity of good farming land.

Axios Reclamation Scheme.

In line with the policy of the Republican Government to develop the natural resources of Macedonia, a contract was entered into on October 6, 1925, between the Greek Government and an American engineering concern for the purpose of reclaiming the flood plain of the Axios (Vardar) River, the Yenitsa swamp and lakes Amatovo and Ardzan. There were included in the plans certain complementary works such as irrigation, levees on the Gallicos River and the removal of the mouth of the Axios River outside the harbor of Saloniki. (For details of this contract see Report No. 63 from the American Consul at Saloniki, Greece, dated October 28, 1925.)

This plan will accomplish two purposes: it will release for cultivation about 325,000 acres of land which has heretofore been continually or periodically flooded, and will remove the scourge of malaria from the Axios valley. This should materially improve the health and productive capabilities of the population of that area.

Work Accomplished.

The work on this project has been under way for almost four years and the larger part of the work of draining lakes Amatovo and Ardzan has been carried out. Operations are just now beginning on the drainage of the Yenitsa swamp, and will probably require four or five years for completion. It is estimated by officials of the engineering firm that drainage of 8,000 acres around the margin of lakes Amatovo and Ardzan has been accomplished, and some 20,000 acres of land along the Axios have been protected from overflow.

Statement of Mr. Venizelos.

However, this project will not supply the demand of the agricultural population of Macedonia for cultivable land. In his electoral speeches at Saloniki and Janina during the latter part of 1928, Mr. Eleutherios Venizelos, Prime Minister of Greece, made the following statement in regard to the drainage and irrigation works which were then contemplated in Macedonia:

"The work of the drainage and irrigation of the Axios (Vardar) which was commenced two years ago must first be completed.

"Of the other drainage projects, those of the Strymon River and the Philippi Marshes near Kavalla are the most urgent, not only because of the general results to be derived from their execution are of greatest importance, but also because the establishment of hundreds of thousands of refugees in Macedonia created a dearth of land which must be remedied. Additional land suitable for agriculture must be provided for the rural refugees in order to prevent them from migrating to the cities to engage in parasitic occupations.

"Often the land holdings of the villagers in Macedonia are as small as 12 to 15 stremmas (one stremma is one quarter of an acre) which is quite insufficient to provide for the needs of an agricultural family. This is the reason why the works of the Strymon River and the Philippi Marshes must be undertaken immediately."

Project for Reclamation of Strymon Plain.

Shortly after the declaration of the Prime Minister was made, an American group entered into a contract with the Greek Government for the rectification of the course of the Strymon River and the reclamation of the Strymon Plain.

The principal points of the convention are as follows:

The work must be completed within six years.

The drainage of the Strymon Plain comprises (a) the construction of dams and the control of the course of the river to prevent floods; (b) the enlargement and deepening of the mouth and bed of the Strymon up to Lake Tachinos or up to the Serres-Saloniki highway bridge, if necessary; and (c) the total or partial drainage of the lake to provide for the cultivation of 1,600,000 stremmas (400,000 acres) of new land.

The total cost of these works has been estimated at a little less than \$21,000,000. If on completion of the program the total amount is not expended, the concessionaire group will be bound to execute other complementary works in the plains of Serres or Drama, as for instance, the reconstruction of villages destroyed and burned during recent wars. If upon execution of these complementary works there still remains a balance, it will be used for construction in other parts of Greece.

Progress on Strymon.

Surveys which began early in 1929 have been completed for the work outlined above. Plans for

machinery and equipment have been received and considered by the engineering firm and have been passed on to the Greek Government for approval.

Other Plans.

Following its policy of development of the natural resources of Macedonia, the Greek Government, during the first half of 1929, announced that proposals would be accepted for long period contracts for utilizing the waterfalls at Verria, Voden, Vladovo, Acheloos and on the Aliakmon to generate electrical energy. The development of these waterfalls is agitated in the local press at frequent intervals, but no definite steps have yet been taken toward its accomplishment.

A system of highways for Macedonia has been planned by the Government but up to the present little has been accomplished toward actual construction....
(pp. 51-55)

STATISTICS CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES IN MACEDONIA

(From September 1, 1922 to December 31, 1928)

Number of Refugee Settlements	1,951
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Houses Delivered to Refugees:	
Turkish and Bulgarian property	53,476
Old Houses Repaired	11,602
Houses Built	39,077
Under Construction	1,992
Undergoing Repairs	1,025

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Refugees Installed:	
Families	113,216
Persons	446,560

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Land Allotted to Refugees: (In Acres)	
Tillable	1,036,582
Non-cultivable	619,908
Total	<u>1,656,490</u>

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Livestock Supplied to Refugees:	
Cattle	47,203
Buffaloes	1,775
Horses	17,067
Mules	2,645
Donkeys	4,155
Sheep and Goats	65,477
Hogs	201

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Implements Furnished to Refugees:	
Carts	20,128
Plows	49,824
Tools, Miscellaneous	121,259
Corn Shellers	12
Binders	49
Mowing Machines	6
Tractors	2
Drill Rigs for Wells	8
Pumps	166
Bee Hives	4,300
Straw Choppers	1

.... (p. 60)

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The changes engendered in Greek Macedonia by the influx and settlement of nearly 700,000 refugees altered practically every aspect of the province. The first and most striking change is the thorough "Hellenization" of Greek Macedonia and the practical elimination of ethnic minorities. This uniformity of race and cultural background will tend to quiet the political, religious and racial strife which have hence-tofore afflicted Macedonia.

The expropriation of Turkish properties and of large Greek estates and their subsequent division among the refugees in small parcels, has made Macedonia a land of small independent farmers, and has eliminated absentee ownership of agricultural land with its attendant evils. The necessity for additional areas suitable for farming has forced the Greek Government into the reclamation of marsh and lake land. Whether or not these projects will be financially profitable is problematical.

The cultivation by refugees of land formerly used as pasture has materially reduced grazing lands and has forced many nomadic shepherds and cattle-breeders into other occupations. The increase in the area under cultivation has undoubtedly augmented the agricultural production of Macedonia; but due to a lack of statistical information regarding crop yields before 1922, no direct comparison can be made except in the case of tobacco. From 1910 to 1923 there were fluctuations in the annual tobacco crop of Macedonia, but no indication of a definite trend either up or down. Between 1923 and 1928 the yield of tobacco practically doubled due to the settlement of the refugees.

The Refugee Settlement Commission attempted to introduce new crops into Macedonia to aid the farmers in their program of diversification of crops. Hemp, roses and flax were planted, but without marked success. Encouragement to engage in the production of cocoons and silk-worm eggs has been more effective.

Most of the refugees were, at the time of their arrival in Macedonia, without money or other resources, and during the period of their installation became indebted to the Colonization Department (Refugee Settlement Commission) or to one of the co-operative associations borrowing from the National Bank of Greece. Unwise credits, undue optimism and a surplus of urban dwellers combined to produce a financial depression which has not yet been relieved.... (pp. 77-79)

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Greek Refugee Settlement

The Commission (League of Nations Refugee Settlement Commission) was well advised in making use of the administrative machinery supplied to it by the State; a special service would have been both cumbersome and unnecessary and friction would inevitably have arisen, especially as colonisation and the application of agrarian reform are two questions which overlap and for the most part conflict with one another. Moreover, the Commission found in the existing Governmental organisation a staff both trained and experienced; it includes no doubt some mediocre administrators, whom the Commission has at all times the right to return to the Ministry; but, with that qualification, it may be said that the Government has furnished officials of a high average standard, some of them, particularly in the upper grades, being men of remarkable ability who have carried out difficult and delicate duties with authority, devotion and honesty.... (p. 11)

These numbers, (about 1,400,000) reduced though they were, constituted another heavy burden upon the country. The difficulties were aggravated by the sex and age of the refugees, the greater part of whom were old men, women and small children, most of the male adults having perished. These people from Asia Minor of all the refugees suffered the worst experiences.... (pp. 12-13)

In their country of origin these populations made up several social classes.

(1) There were in the large towns and centres of some importance:

(a) Merchants, industrialists, shipbuilders; bankers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, journalists, chemists, etc.

(b) Retail traders and small dealers, grocers, cafe proprietors, etc.

(c) Artisans and craftsmen, barge owners, drivers, etc.

(d) Workmen of all categories, gardeners, errand-boys, domestic servants, etc.... (pp. 13-14)

On the arrival of the first refugees and even before the establishment of the Commission, the Government undertook the settlement of rural colonists. There was land available, colonisation services both organized and in operation, and the aim in view was as soon as possible to enable at least a part of the mass of refugees to gain their livelihood without delay, and at the same time to relieve the congestion of the urban centres.... (pp. 16-17)

The problem was, of course, to secure for the refugees the means of finding some occupation. This was possible in the case of the agricultural population, but presented an exceedingly difficult task as regards the inhabitants of the towns.

The Government, with the help of the different Greek and foreign organisations, took steps to place as many men as possible in the public administrations, banks and private enterprises. But the state of its finances, which were already heavily burdened by the cost of the refugees, made it impossible to supply funds to help the thousands of unemployed townspeople to secure a livelihood, as it had done for the country people. The Government decided to deal with essentials first, and at least to furnish houses. The Welfare Fund --an independent State Institution -- undertook to build urban quarters on the outskirts of Athens and Eleusis, Volo and Edessa.

With the establishment of the Commission, the question again arose whether the townspeople could be provided with regular productive work, and much consideration was given to this problem. The funds at the disposal of the Commission, however, did not permit it to undertake such a task, even on a small scale; it decided, therefore, to confine its activities to supplying houses within the limits of its financial resources. As the Commission had done for agricultural settlement, so now it began by taking charge of the four suburbs which the Government had built or started to build on the outskirts of Athens and all similar suburbs which had been begun in the provinces.... (pp. 17-18)

In normal cases, possession of a roof does not, of course, enable a family to support itself. Here, however, experience has proved that, once in possession of a roof over his head, the refugee frequently succeeds by some means or other in providing for his needs or even in creating conditions of comparative comfort.

Needless to say, not all the urban refugees were accommodated either by the Government or by the Commission. Most of them made their own arrangements for shelter. The condition of this last class of refugees is often deplorable. Either they have to be content with some uncomfortable and unhealthy shelter, or else the rent swallows up the bulk of their slender means. The luckiest of them or the most resourceful have managed to build themselves a hut and, in a few cases, a cottage, but the majority of these self-established refugees suffer great hardship.... (pp. 18-19)

The "proedros" (chief) is naturally known, far and wide. This person deserves special mention. He is the self-appointed group leader who imposed his

authority in the earliest stages when the group was still nothing but a mass of human beings, rags and bundles dumped at a railway station or on a landing stage. He assumed control, fixed up shelter for the night and took it upon himself to buy bread for all the others. Thereafter, it is he who, with the assistance of two or three lieutenants, answers for everything, does everything and makes the bargains in the establishment of his group. Resourceful and energetic, he is an organiser and sometimes also a commander. He is indispensable.

It goes without saying that these chiefs are not all cut on the same patters. Some are exploiters, and in these cases are sooner or later deposed. But many are born leaders, men who automatically find themselves leading the flock without having pushed their way forward and working without counting the gain. Such a man is listened to and respected. If he happens to be at the head of a somewhat primitive group, among whom modern ideas have not yet destroyed the respect of the weak for the strong, he works marvels. The drones are thrust aside, the seed is sown in time, difficulties with the natives are smoothed away--this last is a real feat.... (p. 28)

Expropriation and requisition are part of the agrarian reform carried out during the last few years. It may perhaps be well to mention in passing the main features of this reform, which has changed the social and economic conditions of part of the rural population and has also largely contributed towards the settlement of refugees in the country districts. The breaking-up of the large properties and their distribution to peasants or refugees mark the last stage in a campaign of 20 years which has been waged against the system of big landed property in Greece.... (pp. 34-35)

Without considering the effects of agrarian reform and the manner in which it was applied, we point out merely that the settlement on the land of such a large number of immigrants could not be carried out without revolutionising the conditions of landed property; generally speaking, the whole of the dispossessed class has borne the sacrifices demanded of it with courage and dignity.

Expropriation, which by reason of the formalities which it involves, is rather a lengthy operation, may be preceded by simple requisition, subject to the subsequent fulfilment of the legal formalities accompanying expropriation.

The necessity for settling so large a number of agricultural refugees hastened the application of agrarian reform in general, and in many cases the native tenant-farmers gained by the presence of the

refugees, since the rapid expropriation on behalf of the latter naturally involved the distribution of land among themselves. According to a principle ratified by the Ministry of Agriculture, the native tenant-farmers are regarded as having a priority right, and it is not until they have received their share of land that what remains is distributed to the refugees.... (p. 38)

The first stage towards agricultural settlement consists in the collection of a number of families in search of a settlement.

Owing to the urgency and extent of the work of colonisation, the experts were not always able to direct the stream of refugees immediately to the right places in accordance with a previously conceived plan. For this reason co-operation was welcomed from delegates of the various groups, account at any rate being taken of information furnished by them in the light of enquiries which they themselves made. In many cases they made a tour of several provinces before discovering a corner of ground, at the expense of the group, the Government bearing the cost of transport. Once they had made their choice, they applied to the Ministry of Agriculture, either directly or through the Commission, and, after enquiries, the Ministry rejected the application or ceded the necessary land, according to available funds, the quality of soil, the nature of its exploitation, and the requirements of the future community.... (p. 42)

After following the different stages in the handing over of land to the settlers, we may summarise the conditions under which it is transferred or withdrawn.

In the event of the death of the head of the family, the allotment is automatically transferred to the eldest son, to the widow, or, in the absence of these, to another relative, who also assumes the debts and obligations contracted by the deceased. The department is advised of the transfer. Only if the widow is too old, or the children too young, or if there is no near relative, does the allotment fall vacant, and it is in this case transferred to a still unsettled family, always provided that it undertakes to repay the sums owed by the previous holder.

A refugee, expelled from the community for conduct harmful to the interests of the settlement, is deprived of his allotment, and it then passes to another. Notorious laziness or incapacity also constitute a reason for withdrawing the allotment, in every case after compulsory payment of all charges. It can be transferred to a new occupier after due authorisation. In cases of removal for some specified reason, the person concerned himself generally finds his successor. A removal

without previous notice, and without the settlement of his account, renders the person concerned liable to imprisonment. Search is made for him and he rarely escapes. If he is insolvent, the group is jointly and collectively responsible to the Commission for the debts of any of its members.... (pp. 53-54)

The large majority of the agricultural families have received one animal for plough or draught animal, the Commission's funds making it impossible to give them as many as two. Some of these families have several members and have received two. This is exceptional. Others again, whose animal has died, have had it replaced on proof that the loss of the animal was not due to their fault. There are a comparatively large number of settlers who have not received any animal for ploughing, in which case they themselves obtain the means for working their fields, or engage in other forms of cultivation either by hiring at the ploughing season or by associating with a native or a refugee who possesses animals. We might add that we have come across farmers among those most recently established in the sectors whose credit as regards stock was exhausted, and who were doing the work of ploughing and even that of digging the ground and other farming processes by means of human labour!..... (pp. 57-58)

The Commission has obtained animals chiefly by means of competitive bidding. Wherever possible, it has instructed the provincial offices to buy directly, or has even, in certain cases, granted loans to the refugees, in order to enable the latter to select and buy their animals themselves, a system which has frequently proved successful.

It was not easy to find on the spot so large a number of animals for farming purposes. Moreover, importation from abroad was subject to a certain degree of selection which rendered the matter difficult. It was necessary to find stock which was suitable for acclimatisation, so the Commission imported grey cattle from the neighbouring Balkan countries, Asia Minor and Cyprus. The cattle were examined and subjected to sanitary control by commissions of experts and veterinary surgeons before being handed over to the refugees.... (p. 59)

The stock distributed to the refugees has been duly branded. It is thus difficult to dispose of it, and it remains the property of the Commission. Despite this precaution, there have been losses and clandestine sales. In such cases, the gendarmerie is called in and animals which have been sold are seized, without prejudice to any penalties which the offence may involve.

The refugee families have received, along with the stock, the forage necessary for their maintenance until the next harvest.... (p. 61)

Throughout the whole of Macedonia, the service has organised the regular inspection of sick animals and the distribution of medicines. A big stable has been established at Salonika, where the animals are concentrated before being sent on into the interior. Animals which have suffered during the crossing are taken to a special establishment, where they are looked after. Those suffering from any essential defect are rejected. The establishment in question also receives animals which have fallen sick while in the possession of the refugees.... (p. 64)

Despite the efforts made, it has been impossible to prevent the death of a certain number of animals, which had been handed over to refugees who were ignorant or did not possess the necessary facilities for ensuring hygienic conditions. Generally speaking, deaths through inadvertence have happened chiefly in the case of stock distributed to refugees who were not regular farmers; these, as we have already noted above, constitute by no means a negligible proportion. The explanation is simple; the true tiller of the soil stints himself in order to keep his animal fit, and this is not the case with farmers who are not genuine peasants.... (p. 64)

In Epirus the same crisis in stock-breeding has happened as in Macedonia and Thrace. A large part of the ground which the State has made over to the Commission for the purpose of settlement has necessarily been taken out of the pasture-land. During the autumn of 1924, when the heads of the clans came down from the mountains, to rent the meadowland, in accordance with a practice dating back for centuries, they found that, without warning, rows of tents had been set up and the grass had fallen before the plough. The loss was appalling. Here, again, the flocks had to be reduced or sold or to a large extent migrated. This situation has led to a struggle between the nomad breeders and the refugee or native farmers in which the latter must inevitably triumph.... (pp. 68-69)

Our zootechnical service in Macedonia has taken certain measures to prevent the immediate destruction of the migratory flocks. In certain districts (Kilkich, Chalcidice, etc.) it has traced breeding zones in which a given number of sheep can spend the winter, the flocks being concentrated as far as possible in the pastures specified. It has encouraged sedentary stock-breeding as far as possible. It has insisted that the ploughing of the meadows shall be effected by gradual stages and on plots adjoining or as close to one another as possible, in order not to create isolated patches of pasture surrounded by crops so that they cannot be used.

The refugees have a tendency to disperse and scatter them, liking to encroach upon what still remains of pastures enriched with manure. In certain cases, they do this with the idea of making the shepherd come to terms by forcing him to set a price on the meadow which he is trying to lease.

Our service has also encouraged the cultivation of beetroots and forage (clover, crimson clover, etc.), distributing seeds in large quantities. Thus the production of forage is increasing every year, to the advantage both of the stock-breeders and of the refugees engaged in this occupation, and brings in handsome profits.

Lastly, there are many refugees who, with the few cattle given to them, have proved successful in domestic stock-breeding, which will little by little inevitably take the place of nomadic breeding and will serve to counter-balance the losses of the latter. This kind of property, the decrease of which during the last twelve years was leading up to a serious crisis for the country, is thus being reconstituted under conditions most encouraging for the refugees and for the country. Its progress will necessarily be limited owing to the fact that the pasture lands are becoming more and more restricted, but there is still sufficient margin for it to increase to a considerable extent.... (pp. 70-72)

In addition to land and stock, the country family receives farming tools, in many cases a cart, seed for the first crop, a subsistence loan or a supply of forage for its animals, each quarter until the first harvest, and a house.

These various forms of assistance can rarely be supplied as liberally as they should be. On the other hand, it may happen that the seed and subsistence loans have to be given more than once if the first crop is a failure.

Loans and equipment vary according to the category of settlers. Fishers receive loans enabling them to purchase boats and nets. The necessary funds for setting up business are advanced to artisans such as bakers, blacksmiths, farriers, cobblers, masons and barbers who are indispensable to a group.... (p. 73)

The number and dimensions of the rooms vary considerably between one village and another, according to the credits which it is possible to grant, local requirements and resources or the period of construction. There is the type put up at the beginning-- the four-roomed house for one family, and the double four-roomed house for two families. The usual type is the two-roomed house, with or without a stable. Until a stable can be put up, the family lives in one room and the animal in the other.... (pp. 76-77)

Two principal methods of building were adopted: contracting, and the execution of the work by refugee labour under supervision of the Commission service.

In the former case, many of the contractors have had to cope with serious difficulties especially in the regions where there are no means of communication and where it is difficult to obtain materials or labour. At the same time the Commission has not always had reason to be satisfied with the way in which the contracts were carried out and our technical services have sometimes been obliged to accept inferior work owing to the urgent need of finding shelter for the refugees.

Under the second system, the refugees are given wood, tiles, nails--material which has all to be brought from a distance--and the ready money necessary for the wages of carpenters and masons; the refugees supply the rough labour and transport. An overseer directs and supervises the quantity and quality of the work, making various advances in cash or in kind as it progresses. This system, which has been successfully used in Thrace and Macedonia, has proved satisfactory from the triple point of view of time, execution and cost. Among other advantages, it gives the refugees work and promotes the creation of different kinds of small industries, the installation of lime-kilns, saw-mills, tile-works, etc.... (p. 78)

Many villages, however, belonging to the exchanged populations were entirely without drinking water. In the region of Kozani (Western Macedonia), in that of Sari-Saban (Eastern Macedonia), the Turks had from time immemorial fetched their water from distant springs and transported it on the backs of animals. This was necessary, at the beginning, for the refugees established in these villages. Even in 1925, one saw every evening long trains of donkeys and other beasts of burden proceeding to the nearest spring, which was often several kilometers away.

Moreover, in parts where our Service has established entirely new villages, the water was poor in quality or was not available at all, a problem which was the more difficult to deal with because, owing to the condition of the land, the choice of a site for the new villages could not always be made subordinate to the existence of wells or springs. It was thus necessary, when building new villages, at the same time to bore wells on the spot or to build aqueducts. Three hundred and seventy-five wells were sunk in this way in different villages in Macedonia.

It was generally necessary to engage in preliminary geological research on the spot chosen for the new settlement in order to determine the most practical method of providing for water-supply.

Four principal methods were adopted, namely, boring to a limited depth by hand, deep boring by mechanical means, the sinking of wells where a phreatic bed was utilisable, and, lastly, the installation of water conduits leading from springs pointed out by the inhabitants or discovered in the course of geological researches.... (pp. 85-86)

The wells sunk in the regions where the phreatic stratum was utilisable were in the majority of cases lined with stone and covered with a layer of reinforced concrete. The water is drawn by means of piston bores and screw chains; 217 piston chains and 120 screw chains have now been installed.... (p. 87)

A primary requisite in colonisation is that colonists shall be selected or, at any rate, fairly healthy individuals. The internal colonisation undertaken in Greece, on the contrary, was mainly a problem of establishing a population which had been discouraged and weakened by suffering and privation and which also for the most part consisted of old men, women and children. That was not the only drawback, for our colonisation work had to be carried out, to a large extent, in regions infested with malaria.... (p. 92)

Medicaments and quinine are provided at cost price, except in the case of very poor families, who receive these products free. The staff consist partly of refugee doctors. Convinced of the importance of their task, and maintaining close contact with the village schoolmasters, they do not limit their activities to preventive or therapeutical medicine, and many of them conduct an educational campaign of propaganda in favour of moral hygiene; some of them go about their work like real apostles.... (pp. 94-95)

We have already referred on several occasions to the almost insuperable difficulties caused by the lack of a cadastral survey. Both the State and the Commission are often uncertain as to the extent and precise boundaries of the estates which have been handled over and received. In our work of colonisation we experience difficulties at every turn, dividing up the land between the refugees and the local inhabitants, or among the refugees themselves. Conflicts arise and much time is lost which would have been better employed in farming. These are serious obstacles which will be overcome only when a cadastral survey has been prepared.

One particularly cogent argument for the preparation of this survey is that it will tend to increase the farmer's feeling that the land on which he has been established has definitely become his property. In other parts of this report it will be seen that uncertainty in this respect renders our colonists negligent in

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purposes of interest to the Government.

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with a metal tape. The whole area is then divided into equal squares of 101.40 meters or 100 meters and on the map thus obtained the details of the ground are inserted and the north is indicated.

After this the ground is divided into squares of 20 or 10 stremmas, shown on the map on a scale of 1:5000, the squares being themselves divided into regular strips of four or two stremmas. The squares are numbered and are then, with the assistance of an agricultural expert, divided into categories according to the value of the land. Houses, roads and land unsuitable for cultivation are indicated on the same map.

The parcels of land thus obtained are then allocated so that each family or group of families in the village shall obtain a number of lots of from four to two stremmas as the colonisation authorities decide. The numbers of the lots are entered in a special register under the name of each family. An enlarged map on the scale of 1 : 1000 is drawn up in duplicate for each square. One of the copies is handed to the person concerned while the head of the squad points out on the spot the boundaries of the lots, which are then marked out in his presence by the peasants themselves by means of large stones or ditches.

While the lots are being allocated, a space of from 30 to 50 stremmas is marked off on the map and on the ground for the construction of the church, the school, etc., which will belong to the community.

The cost per stremma in Western Macedonia, where this system was applied, has never exceeded an average of 3.26 drachmae; the results obtained are considerable and have made it possible for our authorities at Kozani to obtain regular repayment on the assets allocated to refugees and the local population. The latter were somewhat suspicious at first, but they finally became more than reconciled to a species of transaction which in this part of the world is a novelty.

It should be noted that the maps are of little use for purposes other than those of the Commission, because the methods employed do not take into account fixed benchmarks on which the general triangulation of the region is based. Moreover, the work was carried out in plains devoid of physical irregularities, topographical difficulties and estates interlaced in a complex manner. The method we have employed and the division of the ground into a sort of chessboard became more and more difficult as topographical irregularities increase and when the surveyors are faced with local estates of irregular outline within the area to be surveyed.

In order to be in a position to solve the problem as a whole, the Commission has also considered offers to make topographical plans by means of aircraft. Minute preparations have been made to test this system on a large scale, the experiment covering the whole of the fertile and intricate Karajova region, and, in order to reduce the cost to a minimum, the military aviation authorities have been asked to provide an aeroplane.

If this experiment demonstrates the fact that surveying by aeroplane possesses the advantage of speed and accuracy, combined with moderate cost, the system may be extended to other regions in Macedonia and Thrace occupied by compact masses of refugees.

The Commission will thus be able, when it obtains the necessary credits, to complete its cadastral survey and carry out the final allocation of the land among the refugees by the method which in the light of present experience and future experiments eventually proves to be cheapest and best.... (pp. 105-108)

The economic organisation of the refugees constitutes an effective antidote to the insidious germs of anarchy which might have developed in an atmosphere long impregnated with suffering and famine. Moreover, the system of small peasant ownership inaugurated by the expropriation of the large estates could attain stability only under an agricultural co-operative credit system.

The group-settlement system adopted in the case of the refugees facilitated the subsequent development of rural syndicalism, but not until February 1925 were our officers able to devote some attention to the organisation of agricultural co-operative societies. For this huge task our resources are scanty and our staff is limited. In the whole of Macedonia we have only one higher official and seven inspectors employed on the work. When we consider the fact that the system is in process of organisation, it will be seen that this staff is totally inadequate. The results obtained, however, are already encouraging.... (p. 109)

Several refugee and mixed co-operative societies have from their own funds purchased their hay-cutters and farming apparatus. They have acquired material, articles of prime necessity, hundreds of tons of corn for sowing, hundreds of thousands of American vinestocks, and thousands of sacks of chemical fertiliser. Others have sold their members' produce collectively. Others again have repaired or constructed barns and factories.

Of course the organisation of some co-operative societies is still far from perfect; mainly on account of the shortage of capable managers with a sound knowledge of accounting. Most of the managers of these

syndicates are themselves farmers, though sometimes, in rare instances, they are village schoolmasters or priests.

To meet this drawback, our Directorate-General in Macedonia established in May and June 1925, at Salonika, a school of co-operative economics, at which the courses were attended by 90 farmers and 60 schoolmasters, all refugees. The pupils attended this school for 40 days, and received tuition in accountancy, agricultural syndical methods, etc. The result of this instruction is satisfactory, in spite of the short duration of the courses.

The diffusion of co-operative ideas among the refugees is a fact which merits attention. It could hardly have been foreseen that a spirit of co-operation would develop to such a degree among a population garnered in from so many different quarters. It is almost as if their common misfortunes, and the desire to make good once more, had engendered that confidence and spirit of corporate effort without which no co-operative system can succeed. It is a fact that, in the countries in which the co-operative movement is most highly developed at the present time, several decades elapsed before this first stage in its development was completed.... (pp. 111-112)

It is true that the agricultural syndicates, as independent bodies, should try to rely solely on their own resources; but they need guidance and carefully fostering, particularly in the first few years--a task which must, to an ever-increasing extent, be left to the State.... (p. 114)

Many of our colonists who were labelled as farmers did not, in their own country, engage in agriculture. The difficulties under which colonisation was carried out were so great, and the manner in which it was organised so hasty, that it was almost impossible to separate the country folk from the town-dwellers. In actual practice, moreover, it was almost impossible to establish a boundary line, or any rigid rule for determining the real status of the various categories of town-dwellers who did some farming. It was only after settlement had taken place that these classes were sorted out either automatically or by our officials when it was quite clear that a colonist was unfitted for his work.... (p. 117)

Obviously, there is a tremendous difference between the work of a born peasant and that of a town-dweller who has taken to farming. At Lozanova, near Yannitsa (Central Macedonia), there is a Thracian colony consisting of 220 families. In less than two years they have extended their abundant crops over an area where formerly the flocks gleaned a scanty subsistence. A little farther on another colony of 350 families finds it hard to make a living... In the latter case, the...

proportion of town-dwellers is too high; these people, transplanted to land which they have to plough or clear, do not know how to use their strength, and are reduced to letting the grass grow in their fields so that they may sell it to the shepherds.... (pp. 118-119)

The scarcity of ploughing animals, particularly at the beginning, and the rudimentary apparatus possessed by the refugees made machinery the only possible means of preparing for cultivation ground which had for centuries been used as permanent pasture land.

The refugees themselves so highly appreciated this method of cultivation that certain agricultural co-operative societies (at Rodolivos and Drama) have bought tractors, which will be paid for by annual instalments.... (p. 130)

With the settlement of the refugees, modern apparatus and agricultural progress are thus penetrating into Macedonia, the paradise of working peasantry. We purpose in the following chapter to give some account of the improvement in the crops. It may be stated here that it is necessary to direct and guide the tendency of the refugees to perfect their apparatus and modernise their methods. The Commission possesses a technical staff which is able to render considerable service in this respect. One of our agricultural experts, himself a refugee and a man of experience, has proposed a system under which "model holdings" (a sort of small model farm) are installed in a given area which includes a number of colonies. A technical expert, assisted by a refugee, the owner of the holding, which is to be handed over for this purpose for a year, will undertake experiments. The farmers will rapidly realise the advantages they will obtain by deeper ploughing, the selection of seeds, the rational rotation of crops, the adaptation of existing crops or the improvement of farming methods, and finally the attention which should be given to plantations of bushes, fruit trees or forest trees.... (p. 130-131)

The failure of certain settlements is undoubtedly due to the haste with which the Commission had to act. For instance, the refugees from Cappadocia, who were landed in Crete or in the Epirus, were seen to be slowly dying of wretchedness: they gazed sadly at their olive-trees as if the latter were some unfathomable mystery. Remonstrance and advice were of no avail, and these refugees had to be transported elsewhere. On the other hand, their compatriots, who had been settled on the wild hills of Hassia, between Thessaly, Macedonia and the Epirus, tilled the soil and built with energy, displaying an admirable genius in protecting themselves against the snow and cold and in exploiting the beech forests.

We have seen mountaineers from the Pontus slowly toil towards the high mountain forests to build their dwellings on the arid hillsides which remind them of their own rocks, far from the plain which they despise, and where they were decimated by fever.... (pp. 134-135)

In Macedonia, forage and hoed plants, on which the system of the rotation of crops is based, now cover 600,000 stremmas.... (p. 137)

A pool of water of some size was discovered in this quarter, and this subterranean water was drawn off by means of a dam and galleries, which carry the water into a central well. A pump worked by a 25-h.p. engine conducts the water into a reservoir of 500 cubic meters situated at the highest point in the district; thence it is distributed to the principal avenues and streets of the quarter by a complete system, whose total extent exceeds 7,000 meters. The water supply thus assured to the suburb of Ionia has permitted the establishment of various flourishing industries, particularly silk spinning and weaving, the dyeing of woollen yarns for oriental carpets and the manufacture of mineral dyes for the building industry. (p. 170)

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The settlement of a farmer is a task which looks clear and simple, and which really is so, provided there is enough land. Even supposing that the available land does not possess all the qualities required for the cultivation to which it is intended to devote it, it may acquire them with time.

That is a privilege enjoyed by nations whose social edifice is normally developed and based upon the firm support of a large rural population.

But what about the townsman? How shall he replace that slow but sure work which the land does for him who looks after it provided it receives indispensable attention? Can he create his custom? Can he inspire confidence? And even if he is able to do this, who can guarantee that both custom and confidence will not disappear within a year or six months? It must be admitted that we here approach the most difficult aspect of the heavy task which the Greek nation so courageously took upon itself.

The personal element, which plays the principal part in the settlement of urban refugees, and which sometimes causes the townsman to change his trade six times in a year, makes it difficult to find a general solution for the labour problem among the urban settlers. This solution, which can be obtained only by ignoring this personal element, for that very reason offers guarantees of only relative value. It will in no case be altogether satisfactory, for it will always seek to substitute for personal initiative, which is the most fruitful and effective of all, State initiative or the initiative of some institution, which is obviously inferior and inadequate.... (pp. 175-176)

All handicrafts and all retail trade over an immense territory were in the hands of the Greeks. And this population is now filling a country which already had enough representatives of these occupations to satisfy its requirements. It is true that the influx of nearly a million and a half inhabitants has increased the requirements of the country, but this increase is not in proportion to the number of artisans and small retail traders who have arrived in Greece. Nothing is so heart-breaking as to see these shops without business, in which the tailor sits idly behind a sewing machine that he will perhaps have to sell next month, and in which the old haberdasher, in charge of orphans whose parents have disappeared, sees the little stock of goods, into which she had put her last savings, deteriorating every day.

It is interesting to recall what has hitherto been attempted with a view to helping this class directly.

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Let us consider for a moment the fate of the representatives of the liberal professions. Of the doctors, barristers, architects, engineers and journalists who have arrived in the towns of Greece, those possessing genuine merits were soon able to create for themselves situations which were often better than those they had lost. Fortune has dealt in varied fashion with the others. Some succeeded easily, others had to struggle. But one point that must be mentioned is that, despite the overcrowding which their presence caused in the professions, they have not lacked work. One characteristic which this class possesses as compared with the generality of urban refugees is that it does not

It would be useless to seek in a city such as Athens, where the elite of the intellectual forces of Hellenism has concentrated for many years--except in political and social-economic spheres--any evidence of the action which the presence of a more or less important contingent of refugees belonging to the cultured classes might have had upon ideas and opinions. The opposite has happened, and it is the refugees who have been attracted more and more by the powerful centre round which they have established themselves.

In addition to the ordinary one-half per cent amortisation, the Protocol and agreements with the bankers provide for an extraordinary amortisation, the service of which is to be secured by all the sums collected by the Commission on the sale of land to persons other than refugees, and also 75 per cent. of the payments made by the refugees in settlement of their debts.

The second category is destined to increase to a considerable extent since, as the refugees recover economically, they will be required to refund the sums which the Commission has expended on their settlement by payments spread over a maximum period of 15 years--according to their financial circumstances.

It need hardly be said that the Commission has barely begun to collect anything on this account. The majority of the refugee settlers were too exhausted economically for the Commission to think of requiring the payment of even moderate sums immediately after their installation. At the present stage of the work, the essential thing is to put the settler on a living basis, to treat him somewhat as the doctor treats his patient in the stages between sickness and convalescence and between convalescence and cure. The refugee must provide for his own food and clothing and make provision

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for bad weather, shortage of food and sickness before paying his debts. It would have been contrary to the Commission's aim to handicap the settler's first efforts towards progress by premature demands for repayment.... (pp. 202-204)

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